

Message Text

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ORIGIN PA-02

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NO.9 FOR CARTER FROM PA

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN, OVIP (VANCE)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HERewith FULL TEXT NEW YORK TIMES EDITORIAL WEDNES-
DAY MARCH 30 TITLED "IN PURSUIT OF THE BREEDING ATOM."

2. BRAZIL ASKS, RATHER ANGRILY, WHY IT CANNOT BE
TRUSTED WITH THE NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY THAT PROMISES TO
MAKE ITS DYNAMIC ECONOMY SELF-SUFFICIENT IN ENERGY.
THE UNITED STATES REPLIES, RATHER URGENTLY, THAT THE
ABILITY TO ENRICH AND REPROCESS NUCLEAR FUELS IS ALSO
THE ABILITY TO MANUFACTURE NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES AND THAT
THE SAFETY OF THE WORLD DEPENDS UPON KEEPING THAT SKILL
IN THE FEWEST POSSIBLE HANDS UNTIL SAFER INTERNATIONAL
ARRANGEMENTS CAN BE MADE.

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3. BRAZIL, THUS ELEVATED TO PROXY FOR ALL THE NUCLEAR
HAVE-NOTS, ASKS WHY IT SHOULD AWAIT THIS UTOPIAN
SCHEME -- AND WHO ELECTED THE UNITED STATES, THE SOVIET
UNION, CHINA, BRITAIN, FRANCE AND INDIA TO THE CHARMED
CIRCLE ANYWAY? THE UNCOMFORTABLE ANSWER IS THAT THEY
ELECTED THEMSELVES AND THAT GIVEN A BIT MORE TIME,
PERHAPS THE DREAD OF NUCLEAR WAR AND TERRORISM WILL IN

FACT PRODUCE AN INTERNATIONAL NUCLEAR ORDER OF A SORT THAT NEVER WORKED BEFORE.

4. AS JIMMY CARTER ACKNOWLEDGED IN FACING THIS PROBLEM A YEAR AGO, THE NUCLEAR NATIONS MUST WALK HUMBLLY ON THIS GROUND. "BY ENJOINING SOVEREIGN NATIONS TO FORGO NUCLEAR WEAPONS, WE ARE ASKING FOR A FORM OF SELF-DENIAL THAT WE HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO ACCEPT OURSELVES. I BELIEVE WE HAVE LITTLE RIGHT TO ASK OTHERS TO DENY THEMSELVES SUCH WEAPONS FOR THE INDEFINITE FUTURE UNLESS WE DEMONSTRATE MEANINGFUL PROGRESS TOWARD THE GOAL OF CONTROL, THEN REDUCTION AND ULTIMATELY ELIMINATION OF NUCLEAR ARSENALS."

5. AND THAT WAS FACING ONLY PART OF THE PROBLEM. FOR NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES ARE NOT THE SAME AS NUCLEAR WEAPONS; A NATION CAN FORSWEAR SUCH WEAPONS WHILE HOLDING EXPLOSIVES AT THE READY TO MAKE THE WEAPONS FAST -- AND RISKING THEFT BY TERRORISTS AND OTHERS WHO ACCEPT NO MORAL RESTRAINT. MOREOVER, AS THE BRAZILIAN CASE DEMONSTRATES, THE COUNTRIES THAT WISH TO PRODUCE THEIR OWN NUCLEAR FUELS HAVE OTHER OBJECTIVES BEYOND THE WEAPONS POTENTIAL. THEY DO NOT WISH TO DEPEND ON OTHER NATIONS OR ON STILL-IMAGINARY INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES FOR THEIR ENERGY SUPPLIES. AND THEY SEE ENERGY INDEPENDENCE AS A VITAL SYMBOL OF MODERNIZATION.

6. THE BRAZILIANS SIT IN THE EYE OF THIS STORM BECAUSE THEY HAVE PURCHASED SEVERAL NUCLEAR REACTORS FROM WEST GERMANY IN A DEAL WORTH BILLIONS. IT WAS UNCLASSIFIED

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SWEETENED FOR THEM BY THE SIMULTANEOUS SALE OF THE DANGEROUS PLANTS TO ENRICH AND REPROCESS NUCLEAR FUELS, COSTING ONLY MILLIONS. AMERICAN EFFORTS TO GET THE PROCESSING PLANTS SEVERED FROM THE DEAL HAVE EVOKED RESENTMENT AMONG THE GERMANS, WHO SUSPECT THEIR AMERICAN COMPETITORS ARE TALKING SAFETY WHILE ANGLING FOR A TECHNOLOGICAL MONOPOLY. IN BRAZIL, THE EPISODE HAS BECOME A NATIONAL CAUSE AGAINST BIG BROTHER IN WASHINGTON.

7. THERE ARE STILL DIPLOMATIC WAYS OUT OF THE BRAZIL CONTROVERSY, AND A SIMILAR ONE AFFECTING A DEAL BETWEEN FRANCE AND PAKISTAN. THE UNITED STATES HOPES THAT THE SELLERS OF TECHNOLOGY CAN REACH AGREEMENT TO LIMIT FUTURE SALES OF FUEL PLANTS; THEY WOULD THEN ASK BRAZIL AND PAKISTAN, WITHOUT CANCELLING THEIR DEALS, TO DELAY DELIVERY FOR, SAY, A YEAR TO GIVE THE WORLD A CHANCE TO DEVISE SOMETHING BETTER.

8. ARGENTINA, INDIA, EGYPT AND SOUTH AFRICA ARE
ALSO SEEKING ENRICHMENT OR REPROCESSING PLANTS TO

PRODUCE URANIUM OR PLUTONIUM. LIKE BRAZIL AND PAKISTAN,
THEY HAVE NOT RATIFIED THE NONPROLIFERATION TREATY FOR-
SWEARING WEAPONS. SOUTH KOREA, IRAN, LIBYA AND TAIWAN
HAVE SIGNED THE TREATY BUT IT IS NOT PERMANENTLY BINDING
AND THEY, TOO, HAVE NUCLEAR PROGRAMS THAT COULD BRING
THEM EXPLOSIVES. INTERNATIONAL RULES ALREADY GOVERN
MOST SALES OF NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY, BUT THESE DO NOT
IMPRESS THE EXPERTS AS EFFECTIVE SAFEGUARDS.

9. THE UNITED STATES SEEKS JUST A BIT MORE TIME TO
TRY TO CREATE INTERNATIONAL FUEL PLANTS, UNDER MULTI-
NATIONAL CONTROL, TO ASSURE THE SUBSCRIBING NATIONS
THE FINEST TECHNOLOGY AND A GUARANTEED SUPPLY OF
FUTURE FUELS IF THEY DENY THEMSELVES THE INDEPENDENT
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KNOW-HOW. COULD RIVAL NATIONS COOPERATE IN SUCH
VENTURES? WOULD THEY HAVE FAITH IN THE GUARANTEES?
WOULD THE NUCLEAR HAVES SURRENDER THEIR KNOW-HOW AND
INDEPENDENCE TO SUCH INTERNATIONAL BODIES?

10. THE WORLD HAS PERHAPS A YEAR OR TWO TO FIND OUT.
IT CANNOT AVOID TRYING. THE ALTERNATIVE IS TENS OF
THOUSANDS OF POTENTIAL NUCLEAR BOMBS LYING AROUND THE
GLOBE. IT IS STATESMANSHIP, NOT INDIGNITY, THAT
PRESIDENT CARTER SEEKS TO IMPOSE ON BRAZIL AND ON THE
REST OF THE WORLD, INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES.
END TEXT.
CHRISTOPHER

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